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held and Francisco Sugboanon, nicknamed Escongyawa ("Escong the Devil") was elected capitan. Francisco's last name, Sugboanon, means he was a Cebuano, which is the first indication in Gadiane's history of emigrants from Cebu in Siaton. About four hundred people are said to have moved from Mangudkod to Kalumpang. However, not all of the settlers left Mangudkod.[48]

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When the people settled at Kalumpang the office of cabeza de barangay was installed for the first time and the tribute was increased to seventy centavos (thirty-five cents) according to the Gadiane manuscript. A road was built from Kalumpang to the beach to replace the old footpath that followed the Canaway River bank. The present site of Siaton poblacion was then "covered with trees, tall grass, and swamps. Wild pigs, carabaos, and deer lived there."

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The fear of Moro raids continued among the people. A stone watch tower (called Bantayan or Baloarte) was built at the beach near the Canaway River mouth. The men from Kalumpang took turns watching for Moros from this tower. How disturbing a force the Moros must have been on the daily life of the people in this area is illustrated by the following paragraph from the Gadiane manuscript.

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[48] After Capitan Pinando came Intoy (1803-04); Monty (1805-06); Alfonso (1807-08); Senforoso (1809-10); Cruz (1811-12); Jantoy (1813-14); Abang (1815-16); Etib (1817-18); Francisco Sugboanon, nicknamed "Escongyawa" (1819-1820).

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a total estimate of 3,600 Christian Filipinos. Nine cabezas lived in Bonbonon, three in Giliga-on and the remainder in the general vicinity of the poblacion. The Recollect fathers in Negros had increased from six in 1850 to thirty in 1880, another sign of the growing population of the island.

The Local Spanish Administration in Siaton

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Gadiane's manuscript gives one insight into the local Spanish administration of Siaton during the latter part of the 19th century. In many ways the present administration of Siaton municipality is patterned on the Spanish system, with a mayor instead of a capitan and barrio lieutenant for the cabeza de barangay.

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The cabezas de barangays were the agents or representatives of the capiten in the various barrios under the latter's jurisdiction. Gadiane writes that the cabeza originally served for only one year in Siaton, then for two, and finally their term was lengthened to three years. Zaide describes the office and functions of the cabeza.

> The pueblos [poblacions in the sense municipality is used today] were divided into barangays [barrios], each under a chief called cabeza de barangay. Originally the office of the cabeza was hereditary, then eventually elective. All cabezas paid no tribute and, after serving for some time, they became members of the town aristocracy--the principalia. The chief duty of the cabeza was to collect taxes in his barangay.[77]

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[77] Zaide, The Philippines Since Pre-Spanish Times, p. 176.

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In Siaton the cabezas were also responsible for the forced labor called polo or prestacion personal, required by the Spaniards. Until 1884 the Spaniards required all male Filipinos from sixteen to sixty years of age to work forty days each year in building or repairing public bridges and roads, cutting timber, working in artillery foundries, shipyards, etc. One could escape the polo by paying a sum of money, called falla, in lieu of actual labor.[78] In 1884 the polo was reduced in the Philippines from forty to fifteen days.

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In Siaton, however, the polo was said to be only thirty days each year and the men were paid thirty centavos (fifteen cents) a week for their labor.

Gadiane, who once supervised these workers, said the men often paid a falla of two pesos (one dollar), the equivalent of ten hours of work. "Many just paid because the mud was sticky and knee-deep in the roads when it rained." The cabezas had to attend church every Sunday in the poblacion. If they failed to attend they were punished, sometimes whipped, by the Spaniards' in the poblacion. Zaide writes: "Every Sunday, after Mass, the gobernadorcillo, the cabezas de barangay, and other town officials...would repair to the convent, and, on bended knees, kiss the hand of the padre."[79]

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[78] Zaide, op. cit., pp. 172-3 and James L. Le Roy, The Americans in the Philippines: A History of the Conquest and First Years of Occupation with an Introductory Account of the Spanish Rule. New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1941, I, p. 45.

[79] Zaide, The Philippines Since the British Invasion, p. 164.

In 1884 the tribute system, the original financial mainstay of the revenue of the Philippines, was repealed.[80] In its place was substituted the cédula personal, ostensibly a fee for a certificate of identification, but virtually a graduated poll tax. The cédulas, unlike the tributes, had to be purchased by every resident of the islands over eighteen years of age--Spaniards, foreigners, and Filipinos, regardless of sex. As there were sixteen different classes of cédulas, the one which most Filipinos had to purchase cost two pesos (one dollar).[81]

This tax was collected by the cabezas on the basis of a list of taxable individuals, called padron de tasas, in his settlement, the cabecería. To cover the cost of collection, the cabeza was given 3 per cent of what he collected while the capitan received 1 per cent. As under the former tribute system, Spanish authorities never inquired very closely how much more the cabeza might collect for himself as long as he paid the required taxes.[82]

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[80] In 1894-1895 the estimated Philippine revenue was $13,579,000 of which $4,586,000 came from cédulas with an additional $482,800 from the special head tax on the Chinese. Le Roy, op. cit., I, pp. 53-4.

[81] Carl C. Plehn, "Taxation in the Philippines: I," Political Science Quarterly, XVI, No. 4 (December, 1901), pp. 691-5. This article and its sequel (Political Science Quarterly, XVII, No. 2, March, 1902, pp. 125-48) give a scholarly survey of the Spaniards' methods of taxation from Legaspi to Dewey.

[82] Ibid., p. 681. Santiago Tayko stated that the cabezas in Siaton retained 3 per cent of all the taxes they collected.

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The Siaton cabezas often had trouble collecting their taxes; some people would flee to the hills when they came to collect. The cabeza had to find them or pay their taxes from his own pocket. Zaide writes:

> If the collection fell short of the amount due to the government owing to the inability of some barriofolk to pay, or because of their death, he had to reimburse the shortage out of his own pocket. Evidently, he paid a high price for the honor of being a cabeza de barangay. Notwithstanding the financial sacrifice many Filipinos aspired to the office of cabezaship because a cabeza enjoyed a high political and social position in the pueblos, next only to the gobernadorcillo.[83]

In Siaton, however, there were individuals who did not wish to be a cabeza. Such uncooperative persons were whipped or jailed by the Spaniards. While the promise of a higher social position, a certain financial reward, and perhaps later a capitanship were important reasons why many desired to be a cabeza, coercion or actual force often made some men accept the office. It was from barriofolk who fled to the hills to avoid paying taxes and from discontented cabezas that a considerable number of the followers of the outlaw bands in southern Negros were recruited.

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In 1872 Father Cabriada returned to Siaton as its parish priest and three or four years later (1875-1876) another typhoon swept over southern Negros, causing

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[83] Zaide, The Philippines Since the British Invasion, p. 162; Le Roy, The Americans in the Philippines, I, pp. 42-3.

[capitana] of the municipalities were to act as justices of peace."[112] The first justice appointed in Siaton was Felipe Tayko who had no law degree but "whose position and circumstances warranted it." 175* 624

Often the first justices resigned and, according to Cadiane, "sometimes there was no justice of peace in Siaton and the capitan acted as the justice." Cadiane himself was justice of the peace in Siaton from 1906-1914.

Until the appointment of the justices, land disputes in Siaton had been settled either by the capitan or the teniente mayor (chief lieutenant,, a position similar to the present vice-mayor of a municipality). During the Spanish period there were few court cases over land claims "because wide areas were still uncultivated, although there were disputes over boundaries which were settled very easily." There were normal disturbances of peace and order due to theft, fights caused by gambling debts or drunkenness, etc. Persons caught stealing were given 150 lashes at the church entrance after the Sunday mass. The offenders were jailed until their wounds had healed. "Mostly, those who were caught and punished left 175* 685 624 622 [689] 175* 681

[112] Cayetano S. Arellano and Florentino Torres, "The Judiciary," Census of the Philippine Islands: 1903. Washington, D.C., United States Bureau of Census, 1905, IV, p. 403. Some sources state the justices of the peace were authorized in 1885. The confusion is because the reform, a royal order of May 29, 1885, was not confirmed until January 24, 1887. There was a lag of six years between the confirmation of this decree and the appointment of the first justice of the peace in Siaton.